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The Economy of the Paez

[Economia de los Paez]

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The Economy of the Paez

by

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/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the *daily* activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the religious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose
title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors
a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are
not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in
the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are
spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and
it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked.
They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters -

[166]
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[192]
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1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

/294 cont./
311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists
eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately
parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow
zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within
which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó,
San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable
area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-
[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras.
The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
648 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white"
regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of
Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is,
in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other
side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that
"the major part of the settlements and the most important ones
for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of
potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas,
and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
641 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
36/ temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. *Physiography*. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow *vegas* with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow *vegas* of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important *vegas*. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and *guadua* bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

[622] 3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland
[103] Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

/6/ 31/ 36/ outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of the settlement of Palmira (4).

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 /133 [433] Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices 241 /134 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/298 cont./

241 134 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés, especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 423 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

241 342 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 [248] [273] [778] Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not extensive among the natives. They are used solely for producing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

P /298 cont./
245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of
excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee.
P Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.
249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home, and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is
[435] high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.
P C Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River,
313 and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry
P C of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible
[785] to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.
P In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas,
241 Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez
172 River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote
137 times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the
crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings
where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are
P covered with uniform savanna vegetation.
172 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains be-
241 longing to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez.
P The lands where these elements are found are utilized without
[783] any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing,"
the natives take the precaution of performing the required puri-
fications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid
the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in
contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expres-
P sion of the natives.
245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in
spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the
reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very
good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial
purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true
orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are
splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the *hartón* /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, *mejicano* /squash, *Cucurbita pepo*/, cabbages, and the cane "*criolla*" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

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5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

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Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Maize	***Zea mais L.***	***kuki***
Plantain	***Musa paradisiaca L.***	***talá***
Banana	***Musa sapientum L.***	***kineño*** (6)
Manioc	***Manihot utilissima L.***	***ña***
Sweet potato	***Ipomea batatas Poit. Andigenum***	***ut***
Potato	***Solanum tuberosum***	***háka***
Arracacha	***Arracacia xanthorrhiza Bancr.***	***as*** (7)
Sugar cane	***Saccharum officinarum L.***	***ñasha***
Cabbage	***Brassica oleracea var. acephala***	***kulles*** (8)
Onion	***Allium cepa L.***	***spulla*** (9)
Frijol	***Phaseolus vulgaris L.***	***us***
Ullucos	***Ullucos tuberosus ex Lozano***	***shabil***
Wheat	***Triticum aestivum L.***	***senchi***
Barley	***Hordeum vulgare L.***	***sebara*** (10)
Garlic	***Allium sativum L.***	***akos***
Nasturtium	***Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.***	***pued***
Squash	***Cucurbita maxima Duchesne***	***Ápe***
Squash	***Cucurbita pepo L.***	***Peté***
Broad bean	***Vicia Faba L.***	***apas*** (11)
Peas	***Pisum sativum L.***	***alpés***
Peppers	***Capsicum sp.***	***ámsa***
Coriander	***Coriandrum sativum L.***	***klandós*** (12)
Avocado	***Persea americana Mill.***	***ítse***
Orange	***Citrus sinensis (L) Osbeck***	***llimas***
Apple	***Pyrus malus L.***	***manzanas***
Peach	***Frunus persica L.*** /Prunus/	***kuhas***

6. From the Spanish: guineo.

7. Underlined vowels indicate nasalization: [104] sh = French ch (chaise); ch = Spanish ch (chicha); j = French (jardín); h = Spanish j (rojo).

8. From the Spanish: coles.

9. From the Spanish: cebolla.

10. From the Spanish: cebada.

11. From the Spanish: habas.

12. From the Spanish: cilantro.

6: Bernal Villa--11 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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	Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
241	Pineapple	*Ananas comosus (L) Camargo*	*chahá*
137	Granadilla	*Passiflora Ligularis Juss.*	*shlul*
	Coffee	*Coffea Arabiga L.*	*café*
192	Ground cherry	*Physalis sp.*	*chimbá*
	Chachafruto	*Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli*	*ásnal*
	Pepino	*Solanum muricatum Ait.*	*pina*
	Yam	*Dioscorea sp.*	*shuá*
	Other cultivated plants:		
	Coca	*Erythroxylon coca Lam.*	*esh*
	Bamboo	*Guadua angustifolia Kuth*	*mum*
	Bottle gourd	*Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.*	*tuka*
	Calabash tree	*Crescentia cujete L.*	*shiptaka*
	Cabuya	*Foucrea cabuya Trel.*	*bets*
	Dill	*Anethum graveolens L.*	*Hinojo*
	Mint	*Mentha viridis L.*	*tuchá*
	Rue	*Ruta graveolens.*	*luda*

222 241 In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

133 241 361 [131] [161] Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyó, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/*301 cont.*/

153 241 361 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /*302*/ varieties: *java* /Java/, *criolla*, *amarilla* /yellow/ (*mum ñusha*), *negra* /black/ (*ñusha kuchi*). Of maize: *capio* (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or *kukiguafi*, the *calentano* maize /maize of the hot regions/ or *kukibah*, the hard *calentano*, and the fine or *kukimull*. Of potatoes, the *kaka chime* (white), the *kaka kuchi* (with mulberry-colored skin), the *kaka bé* (red), and the *tusa* /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the *noli*, *guaturunga*, *pitaleña*, negra /black/, and *colorada* /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

241 433

Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Maize	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
Potato	Oct. -Dec. (paramo)	In 5 months	An annual harvest
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (*noli*)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

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Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb.-April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

[439] In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/303 cont./
241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months
of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numer-
ous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The culti-
vators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a
profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven
pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October,
is intensified in November and December, and the last is done
in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing
the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley,
maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This
is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses,
but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the
seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity
of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers
to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in
spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/304 cont./

241 433 Aside from maize, a basic product of consumption in all the parcialidades, some of them emphasize certain crops primarily intended for commercial purposes. Thus, Mosoco produces potatoes and garlic; San José, wheat; Vitoncó, wheat and peaches; Lame, wheat and laurel wax; Togoima, coca; and the others, coffee.

241 433 The months of the most intense labor in the temperate zone correspond to the first five of the year, and especially to February and March, in order to take advantage of the sunny days during those months for the burning and the sowing, which in turn will benefit from the rains of April, May, and June. During this time, the reserves of the previous year's harvests are consumed, which, let it be said in passing, do not amount [132] to much. Thus, the months of scarcity are June, July, and August, and those of relative abundance, October, November, and December; the former relatively dry and the latter with copious rainfall.

[132] In Mosoco this schedule varies considerably, owing to the peculiar climate and the geographical position. The rains are constant in almost every month of the year; nevertheless, one can count on a few weeks of sunshine during the months of January and February. In the middle of the year, when the trade winds blow from the southeast, the winter is harsh. Thus, the months of intense labor are April, May, and June and coincide exactly with the harvesting of potatoes, wheat, and maize, and also those of November and December, for the planting of potatoes in the "paramo." March, April, and May, are months of plenty, and to some extent September and October as well. It would seem that there should not be any months of "hambruna" /extreme hunger/, but there are.

/305/ It is clear that the people of Mosoco work more and harder than the other natives; they actually harvest in almost every month of the year, but, like the others, they have months of "hambruna," which are September, October, and November, in spite of the fact that during these months they harvest potatoes and ullucos, but they call them such because they do not have 600 maize. The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale /305 cont./ began more

244 433 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 154 [198] [243] The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologically, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatisfaction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 464 166 During the months of July, August, September, and October, the natives have little work. This is why those from Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 433 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/306 cont./

241 indicate the size of their clearings, refer to the quantity of maize 433 planted, that is to say, four cuartillas (approximately two arrobas). Since each clearing does not produce more than one annual harvest, the Páez calculate the size of their property in terms of years. Thus, if asked how much land they own, they state that they have two, four, six, or ten years. Which is the same as saying that they have land where they can lay out two, four, six, or ten separate clearings. Thus, among the Páez, one year is not merely a measure of time, but also an agrarian measure.

241 The clearings are never made in the foothills covered with grass /pajonales/. They are laid out where thick brush or true forest is found. Seen from a distance, they look like open rectangles or squares in the midst of forest or brush. When they are laid out in virgin montaña, the work begins in October. But ordinarily it is during the months of December, January, and February that the natives are busy at this task. These are summer months, and furthermore there is food for consumption. The summer sun rapidly dries out the underbrush, and toward the end of February and through the month of March it is completely burned. When passing through Tierradentro at this time of year, one sees black patches everywhere. At the same time, all the grasses on the slopes are burned so that with the winter rains they will come back vigorously and serve as pasture for the animals.

Burning is the most widespread and most deep-rooted system of agriculture in Tierradentro. It is the most effective way to clear the lands full of vines, grass, brush, and trees, and, logically, the most economical. It combats all sorts of insects injurious to the plantings, and poisonous reptiles, which are not scarce. The ashes produced, when they are not carried away by the rushing waters, are a true corrective for the unquestionably acid soils. The burning of the grasses is essential, for aside from doing away with the dry straw, a veritable thicket that prevents the shoots from growing, it also does away with ticks. The tender shoots of the herbaceous plants make splendid fodder for the bovine, mule, and wool-bearing livestock. Unfortunately, these burnings are not done in a creative spirit, but ccb rather in a destructive one. Fire is also set to the vegetation on

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./

241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage 185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 476 The clearing is done by all the male members of the family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs, [417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap- [824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason,
"maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/308 cont./

243 244 476 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 476 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also *mingas* for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call *descalzar* /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow [824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 825 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and *chamones* /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (*kanasí*), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 789 754 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (*té eu*) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

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13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer).
Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of
magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field,
leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone
picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that
he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in
one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with
the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera"
/stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are
excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas"
/bushes, sprigs// that remain around the plantings, since, as
we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the
center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the
amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding
and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of
the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites
his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance
of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken,
and other select dishes.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the *té eu* are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other *parcialidades* complements his practices.

241 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they
serve only for obtaining *guarapo* (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. *Guarapo*
is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens
or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry
belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before
the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally
obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its
expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient
and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the
natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At
harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to
pay wages for the improvement of their *fincas*. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume
considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not
yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas
of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined
primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although
there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultivation.
[412] They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do
not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the
eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden
clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them
themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to
separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to
make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production.
We specify the percentage of the production intended for
sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the
family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The
statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data
on their production they are in general completely trustworthy,
since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship
had been established between the investigator and the person
investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations
noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes, in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

The
/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the [134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo," [243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted [243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas [476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually [464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while 6-00 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

6: Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

	Fams.	Maize				Wheat			
		A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
243	1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
433	2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
439	3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60,0
	4.	44	39	5	11,3	12	4	8	66,6
563	5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1,5	8,5	85,0
	6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84,9
	8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100,0
	9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100,0
	10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
	11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33,3
	12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
	14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
	15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75,0
	16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
	17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	19.	25	23	2	8,0	9	9	...	.....
	20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80,0
	21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60,0
	22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
	23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91,1
	24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80,0
	25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100,0
6.	80	80	...	.....	5	.(2)	5	100,0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

2. Loss of the harvest.

244
433
439
563

MOSOCO

Fams.	Broad Beans A	Broad Beans C	Broad Beans V	Broad Beans %	Garlic A	Garlic C	Garlic V	Garlic %
1.*	80	80	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

Fams.	Broad Beans A	Broad Beans C	Broad Beans V	Broad Beans %	Garlic A	Garlic C	Garlic V	Garlic %
1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.**	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

6: Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

244
433
439
563

Fams.	Ullucos A	C	V	%	Nasturtium A	C	V	%
1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53,3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	.....	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25,0	...	...	...	.....
25.•	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LA ME

1.•	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.•	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40,0	25	17	8	32,0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100,0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

	Fams.	Frijoles A	C	V	%	Potatoes A	C	V	%
244	1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433	2.	15	15	1	.....				
439	3.	...	...	...	.....				
565	4.	6	...	6	100,0				
	5.	...	...	...	.....				
	6.	...	...	...	.....				
	7.	...	...	...	.....				
	8.	...	...	...	.....				
	9.	...	...	...	.....				
	10.	...	...	...	.....				
	11.	...	...	...	.....				
	12.	...	...	...	.....				
	13.	...	...	...	.....				
	14.	...	...	...	.....				
	15.	...	...	...	.....				
	16.	...	...	...	.....				
	17.	...	...	...	.....				
	18.	5	5	...	.....				
	19.	1	1	...	.....				
	20.	4	4	...	.....				
	21.	...	...	...	.....				
	22.	6	6	...	.....				
	23.	...	...	...	.....				
	24.	...	...	...	.....				
	25.*	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

Fams.	Frijoles A	C	V	%	Potatoes A	C	V	%
1.*	...	(2)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	20	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

241 433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

6: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fams.	Coffee A	C	V	%	Plantains A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	200(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

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Fams.	Maize				Manioc			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	50	50	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2.	29	24	5	17,2	64	52	11	17,1
3.	9	9	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4.	80	80	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5.	3	3	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6.	30	30	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	2	2	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9.	50	40	10	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12.	8(3)	8	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13.	14	4	10	71,4	150	75	75	50,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15.*	40	40	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future [illegible] harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Farms.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	500	---	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	---	---	---	-----	20	12	8	40,0
3.	---	---	---	-----	4	4	---	-----
4.	(?)	---	---	-----	---	---	---	-----
5.	20	---	20	100,0	4	4	---	-----
6.	(?)	---	---	-----	25(3)	---	---	-----
7.	(?)	---	---	-----	17	17	1	-----
8.	(?)	---	---	-----	15(3)	---	---	-----
9.	(?)	---	---	-----	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	(?)	---	---	-----	---	---	---	-----
11.	40	---	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(?)	---	---	-----	18	9	9	50,0
13.	---	---	---	-----	---	---	---	-----
14.*	(?)	---	---	-----	---	---	---	-----
15.*	100	---	100	100,0	---	---	---	-----

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

6: Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15
San Andres

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Fam.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245]
[434]
[439]
1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale. It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262]
[276]
[273]
3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

[Mosoco]

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128 244 43 We present below a statistical table on the potato production of 25 families. Nearly all of them have two harvests per year. The first row represents the November planting and the second one that of May and June. For those who have only one harvest a year, the planting is in the month of November.

We establish, in arrobas, the amount planted, the amount harvested, and that intended for sale and for consumption. We specify in Colombian pesos the value received from sales, an estimate of the amount alloted for consumption, the total value of the harvests, and the costs. An arroba of potatoes is sold for four pesos, on the average, at the place of harvest. In Silvia it is quoted at six. The quantity left for consumption is valued [465] at two pesos per arroba, a standard price for everyone. Costs include only the expenses for mingas, wage labor, and contract labor. Family labor is excluded. We also determine the percentage of the total harvest allotted for sale.

/313 cont./ [Mosoco]

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	$	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
1.*	100	250	180	675,00		70	140,00		97,00
	64 (15)	125	53	212,00		72	144,00		68,00
	164	375	233	887,00	62,1	144	284,00	1.161,00	165,00
2.	30	100	70	350,00	70,0	30	60,00	410,00	......
3.	20	30	15	67,50		15	30,00		......
	15 (16)	20	10	105,00		10	20,00		......
	35	50	25	172,50	50,0	25	50,00	222,50	......
4.	30	150	100	350,00	66,6	50	100,00	450,00	......
5.	5	15	2	6,00		13	26,00		......
	15 (15)	9	...	....		9	18,00		......
	20	24	2	6,00	8,3	22	44,00	50,00	......
6.	20	70	40	160,00		30	60,00		15,00
	30 (16)	12	...	....		12	24,00		......
	50	82	40	160,00	48,7	42	84,00	244,00	15,00

/The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

6: Bernal Villa--36 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Families	Planting	Harvest		Sales		Consumption		Total Value of Harvest	Costs
	A	A	A	$	%	A	$		$
7.	30	40	---	----	---	40	80,00		58,60 (17)
	40 (16)	30	---	----	---	30	60,00		......
	70	70	---	----	---	70	140,00	140,00	58,60
8.	40	40	---	----	---	40	80,00		......
	20 (16)	20	---	----	---	20	40,00		......
	60	60	---	----	---	60	120,00	120,00	......
9.	15	25	36	72,00		17	34,00		......
	40 (16)	--	---	----		--	----		38,60
	55	25	36	72,00	45,7	17	34,00	106,00	38,60
10.	40	200	140	420,00		60	120,00		......
	30	50	---	----		50	100,00		......
	70	250	140	420,00	56,0	110	220,00	700,00	......
11.	15	25	15	60,00		10	20,00		......
	30 (16)	15	---	----		15	30,00		......
	35	40	15	60,00	37,5	25	50,00	110,00	......
12.	30	100	70	350,00		30	60,00		99,00 (18)
	30	90	70	350,00		20	40,00		20,00
	60	180	140	700,00	77,7	50	100,00	800,00	119,00
13.	40	80	50	250,00		30	60,00		......
	35 (16)	35	---	----		35	70,00		......
	75	115	50	250,00	43,4	65	130,00	380,00	......
14.	30	60	24	104,00		36	72,00		......
	30 (16)	40	8	32,00		32	64,00		......
	60	100	32	136,00	32,0	68	136,00	272,00	......
15.	20	160	100	600,00		60	120,00		75,00 (17)
	30	100	24	120,00		76	152,00		30,00
	50	260	124	720,00	47,6	136	272,00	992,00	105,00
16.	25	100	50	250,00		50	100,00		......
	35	60	24	120,00		36	72,00		......
	60	160	74	370,00	46,2	86	172,00	542,00	......

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

18. Expenses of minga and wages.

6: Bernal Villa--37 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Families	Planting A	Harvest A	A	Sales $	%	Consumption A	Consumption $	Total Value of Harvest	Costs $
17.	---	---	---	----	---	---	-----	-----	------
18.	70	700	446	1.712,00		254	508,00		309,20 (19)
	127 (15)	276	81	270,00		193	386,00		------
	197	976	527	1.983,00	54,0	447	894,00	2.877,00	309,20
19.	20	300	250	1.000,00		50	100,00		45,00
	35	25	8	32,00		27	54,00		27,20 (20)
	55	325	258	1.032,00	79,4	77	154,00	1.186,00	72,20
20.	50	80	40	160,00		40	80,00		(22) 72,00
	30	80	20	80,00		60	120,00		------
	80	160	60	240,00	37,5	100	200,00	440,00	72,00
21.	20	60	32	192,00		28	56,00		------
	20	40	16	80,00		24	48,00		------
	40	100	48	272,00	48,0	52	104,00	376,00	------
22.	5	15	8	32,00		7	14,00		------
	5 (16)	5	---	----		5	10,00		------
	10	20	8	32,00	40,0	12	24,00	56,00	------
23.	20	60	30	120,00		30	60,00		------
	20 (16)	20	---	----		20	40,00		111,00 (17)
	40	80	30	120,00	37,5	50	100,00	220,00	111,00
	20 (16)	20	---	----		20	40,00		------
	30	40	8	32,00		32	64,00		125,00
	50	60	8	32,00	13,3	52	104,00	136,00	125,00
25.*	130 (22)	530	500	3.115,00	94,3	30	60,00	3.175,00	1.762,00

15. Planting by agreement. One provides the seed and the other the land and labor.

16. Total or partial loss of the harvest.

17. Minga expenses.

19. Expenses for wage and contract labor and minga.

20. Expenses for wage and contract labor.

21. Expenses for contract labor.

22. Seed purchased.

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105 178 [244] Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] [264] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered considerably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

[Mosoco]

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105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated *parcialidades*. People speak of *mingas*, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the *té eu* and even more the *nara jihi* (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The *cabildo* retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with *pastos de selección* /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

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[241]
[177] Among the implements used in agriculture, only the digging stick for planting maize (*uhach*) is of native manufacture. The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

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/*317 cont.*/

412 never without it. Inseparable from a man's body, they put it on for journeys, *fiestas*, and work. On the other hand, it is also the weapon of attack and defense par excellence. They have few rivals in wielding the machete. In the cleaning out of underbrush they are peerless. As a rule, the number of machetes corresponds to the number of adults in the family. The persons who own more than four machetes are rare.

The shovels /*palas*/ and small bars /*barretones*/ needed for making the beds and holes and for weeding are also common. The shovels, which /*318*/ are owned in larger numbers than machetes, are not used to dig, but to scrape the ground; they are handled horizontally, away from the body. Shovels that form an angle with the handle are unknown.

Iron bars, spades /*palendras*, spade, hoe/, and picks are rare, especially the last two.

A few Mosoco families possess sickles and knives for reaping wheat.

The tools are sharpened on sandstone, although files are also used frequently.

A few natives possess saws, handsaws, *troceras*, chisels, and gouges for making a few objects out of wood.

In the statistical table presented one can see the frequency of the agricultural implements that they possess. It also indicates the nominal value of these implements.

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Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	4	$ 22,00	4	$ 8,00	3	$ 7,50	2	$ 20,00	1	$ 5,00	1	$ 20,00
2.	2	10,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	5,00	..	....	..	....
3.	2	20,00	5	15,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
4.	3	15,00	3	9,00	2	10,00	2	10,00	1	4,00	1	6,00
5.	1	8,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	24,00	2	8,50	2	6,00	..	....	..	....	1	12,00
7.	2	9,00	2	5,50	1	3,00	2	9,00	..	....	1	5,00
8.	2	12,00	2	6,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	10,00
9.	3	24,00	5	20,00	2	7,00	2	12,00	..	....	2	20,00
10.	4	22,00	5	12,50	2	10,00	2	14,00	..	....	..	....
11.	1	6,00	2	5,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
12.	4	16,00	6	15,00	4	16,00	2	8,00	..	....	1	5,00
13.	4	40,00	4	12,00	2	10,00	3	15,00	..	....	1	10,00
14.	8	40,00	10	30,00	6	30,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
15.	1	12,00	2	6,00	5	25,00	5	25,00	..	....	..	....
16.	1	12,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	1	6,00	..	....	1	8,00
17.	1	8,00	1	2,00	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
18.	3	23,00	2	6,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	2,00	1	10,00
19.	3	21,00	3	9,00	1	4,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
20.	8	80,00	8	20,00	4	20,00	2	20,00	..	....	..	....
21.	7	42,00	6	18,00	3	12,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....
22.	2	6,00	5	15,00	4	10,00	2	10,00	..	....	1	5,00
23.	1	10,00	2	6,00	1	5,00	1	5,00	..	....	1	6,00
24.	2	14,00	2	4,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
25.*	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

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LAME:

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Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	--	----	4	14,00	2	10,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	--	----	--	----
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	--	----	--	----
4.*	3	16,00	3	14,00	1	7,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
5.	3	20,00	4	12,00	1	5,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
6.	2	14,00	3	8,00	1	4,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
7.	3	20,00	4	16,00	4	20,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
8.	3	12,00	2	10,00	1	4,00	--	----	--	----	--	----

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Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.*	6	24,00	8	20,00	3	12,00	--	----	--	----	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	--	----	--	----
3.	1	7,00	--	----	--	----	1	8,00	--	----	--	----
4.	3	15,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	--	----	--	----
5.	2	14,00	4	12,00	1	6,00	1	8,00	--	----	--	----
6.	1	10,00	1	2,50	1	7,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
7.	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	----	--	----
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	3,00	1	4,50	--	----	--	----
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
10.*	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	--	----	--	----
12.	3	20,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	8,00	--	----	--	----
13.	2	15,00	1	3,00	--	----	1	3,00	--	----	--	----
14.*	3	19,50	6	18,20	3	15,00	--	----	--	----	--	----
15.*	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	--	----	--	----	--	----

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231
124 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

/320 cont./

231 124 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trustworthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well [162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 [311] Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals go graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 439 231 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose 'trades'.

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of *aguardiente*
789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
[782] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
plication. Likewise he blows *chayuts* (*Scutellaria racemosa* Per.)
on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
sufficed to blow at the rope with *chayuts* to make her move again.
How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
231 peatedly ask.

262 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are *mingas*, re-
[796] ligious *fiestas*, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
[527] baptismal "*cuidos*" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
[281] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
[234] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
782 precaution of calling the *Té eu*. He orders them to take a small
756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of *contento* (*chayuts*) on top
of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
of which is to please him.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption
[796] at religious *fiestas* is accompanied by music (1).
[533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for
492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for
484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles,
[249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride
[482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy
[562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything
to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable
for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or
[754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey
[789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones
(sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own
goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and
turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs,
[422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently
to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property
of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of
note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers
[233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves
in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently,
once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to
[232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the
need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small
quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of
Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue.
Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys,
and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[615] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.

[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic
animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty."
They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth.
The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich,
while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 There are commercial transactions with animals among the
435 natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they
438 say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the
whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives
for half the price or even less.

233 This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the
232 *parcialidad* of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated
[246] solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses,
especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the live-
stock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence
of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino
231 among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.
[232] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial
[438] transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the
natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They
[782] still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when
[233] slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de
Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in
Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that de-
serves full attention on the part of the authorities.

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can ob-
serve the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and com-
[128] pare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The
owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked
with an asterisk.

6: Bernal Villa--48 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/324 cont./

23
563
435
422

MOSOCO:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.300,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 260,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	..	......	3	350,00	1	100,00	..	......	10	30,00
3.	..	......	3	400,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	2.050,00	5	800,00	1	40,00	..	......	7	22,00
5.	..	......	2	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	6	18,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.300,00	1	20,00	..	......	2	10,00
7.	8	1.360,00	12	1.710,00	5	200,00	4	60,00	12	72,00
8.	6	2.400,00	3	400,00	..	......	2	30,00	5	20,00
9.	6	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	180,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	..	......	3	500,00	3	30,00	..	......	17	102,00
11.	26	6.300,00 (23)	10	2.700,00	1	10,00	15	150,00	10	42,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	360,00	8	24,00
13.	14	2.070,00	11	2.050,00	1	20,00	..	......	6	30,00
14.	1	300,00	2	400,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	8	40,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.200,00	2	45,00	..	......	8	40,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	..	......	3	30,00	12	60,00
17.	..	......	..	......	..	......	..	......	..	......
18.	11	2.150,00	4	1.050,00	2	120,00	12	400,00	25	75,00
19.	2	400,00	3	1.200,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	10	40,00
20.	7	800,00	4	2.000,00	..	......	..	......	4	20,00
21.	18	4.300,00	5	1.300,00	2	100,00	..	......	11	45,00
22.	..	......	6	900,00	..	......	..	......	2	10,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	30,00	..	......	8	40,00
24.	3	450,00	2	300,00	2	250,00	20	200,00	4	40,00
25.*	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	180,00	30	320,00	16	80,00

/The commas in the figures in these tables should be read as points in the translation to English./

23. Belong to four brothers.

6: Bernal Villa--49 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/325/

23
563
435
422

LAME:

Farms.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	--	------	7	1.500,00	--	------	--	------	--	------
2.	--	------	2	300,00	7	285,00	5	80,00	15	60,00
3.	8	750,00	6	950,00	--	------	6	100,00	8	32,00
4.*	10	1.500,00	11	1.100,00	--	------	--	------	10	40,00
5.	5	300,00	6	600,00	--	------	--	------	--	------
6.	2	250,00	2	300,00	5	65,00	2	40,00	5	25,00
7.	5	300,00	6	800,00	3	30,00	5	30,00	10	30,00
8.	2	200,00	3	150,00	4	30,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

[427] [427]

Farms.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.*	25	7.800,00	8	1.700,00	5	200,00	--	------	23	115,00
2.	--	------	1	120,00	--	------	--	------	6	30,00
3.	--	------	1	80,00	--	------	--	------	6	30,00
4.	1	100,00	--	------	2	40,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	--	------	2	200,00	2	40,00	2	60,00	6	30,00
6.	--	------	--	------	1	200,00	--	------	6	30,00
7.	--	------ (24)	--	------	--	------	--	------	7	35,00
8.	5	1.250,00	3	300,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	10	30,00
9.	4	800,00	--	------	5	140,00	--	------	40	220,00
10.*	--	------	2	220,00	--	------	--	------	14	70,00
11.	--	------	3	400,00	2	30,00	--	------	15	75,00
12.	--	------ (24)	--	------	--	------	--	------	--	------
13.	--	------ (24)	--	------	--	------	--	------	5	25,00
14.*	5	2.000,00	1	400,00	6	220,00	5	120,00	26	130,00
15.*	20	4.000,00	6	1.200,00	3	200,00	--	------	60	300,00

CALDERAS:

Farms.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.	1	120,00	1	120,00	2	70,00	--	------	1	4,00
2.	3	300,00	1	100,00	8	80,00	--	------	8 !	40,00
3.	--	------	--	------	1	40,00	--	------	20 !	50,00
4.	--	------	4	400,00	5	100,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	--	------	--	------	1	30,00	--	------	1	5,00
6.	4	400,00	3	300,00	8	300,00	5	100,00	20	50,00
7.	--	------	--	------	1	40,00	--	------	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	120,00	20	100,00	8 !	42,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	300,00	4	20,00	2	20,00	5	25,00
10.	20	1.200,00	10	1.000,00	10	200,00	3 !	30,00	--	------
11.	--	------	5	400,00	3	40,00	2	20,00	4	20,00
12.	--	------	--	------	--	------	--	------	6 !	30,00
13.	--	------	2	200,00	--	------	3	30,00	2	10,00
14.	--	------	5	400,00	4 !	30,00	6	90,00	6 !	30,00
15.	--	------	--	------	--	------	6	80,00	4	20,00
16.	--	------	--	------	--	------	--	------	6 !	30,00
17.	4	400,00	--	------	--	------	3	30,00	8 !	40,00
18.	--	------	4	200,00	4	80,00	--	------	3	16,00
19.	--	------	2	120,00	--	------	--	------	7	30,00

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

6: Bernal Villa--50 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/326/ [calderas]

23
435
563
422

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
20.	--	------	--	------	--	------	5	100,00	2	10,00
21.	--	------	--	------	3	60,00	--	------	3	16,00
22.	--	------	3	320,00	4 !	80,00	--	------	8 !	40,00
23.	3	300,00	2	160,00	4 !	80,00	4 !	80,00	--	------
24.	5	500,00	1	100,00	--	------	2	40,00	15	90,00
25.	3	300,00	1	100,00	3	90,00	--	------	--	------
26.	3	300,00	1	100,00	--	------	--	------	--	------
27.	--	------	1	100,00	--	------	--	------	13	65,00
28.	--	------	1	90,00	--	------	--	------	1	5,00
29.	--	------	4	320,00	--	------	--	------	8 !	40,00
30.	1	100,00	1	80,00	--	------	--	------	8 !	35,00
31.	5	500,00	1	80,00	--	------	--	------	6 !	34,00
32.	--	------	--	------	--	------	--	------	1	6,00
33.	--	------	1	80,00	--	------	--	------	--	------
34.	8	800,00	5	500,00	10 !	200,00	4	80,00	10 !	50,00
35.	--	------	4	320,00	--	------	--	------	10	50,00
36.	15	1.500,00	5 !	500,00	--	------	20	400,00	--	------
37.	4	400,00	4	400,00	--	------	10	200,00	10 !	50,00
38.	--	------	1	100,00	--	------	--	------	5 !	25,00
39.	--	------	1	100,00	--	------	--	------	6 !	30,00
40.	2	200,00	--	------	2	40,00	--	------	--	------
41.	--	------	3	120,00	--	------	--	------	5	25,00
42.	--	------	1	80,00	--	------	--	------	--	------
43.	--	------	--	------	--	------	--	------	6 !	25,00
44.	--	------	1	80,00	--	------	3	30,00	--	------
45.	--	------	--	------	--	------	2	30,00	6 !	25,00
46.	4	400,00	--	------	--	------	--	------	4	20,00
47.	--	------	3	240,00	2	40,00	--	------	--	------
48.	--	------	5	400,00	1	20,00	--	------	9	35,00
49.	3	300,00	2	160,00	10 !	200,00	--	------	10 !	40,00
50.	4	400,00	3	240,00	6	120,00	--	------	10 !	15,00
51.	--	------	1	80,00	--	------	1	10,00	6 !	18,00
52.	--	------	3	240,00	--	------	--	------	6 !	18,00
53.	1	160,00	2	160,00	--	------	2	20,00	4	20,00
54.	2	200,00	2	200,00	2 !	40,00	3 !	30,00	--	------
55.	--	------	4	320,00	--	------	2	20,00	8 !	24,00

! Estimates by the author.

/326 cont./

262 [252] The *chachafruto* (*úsual*), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (*kalaguai*), *orejas de palo* /literally, ears of wood/ (*kallumbo*) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, *fríjol* /327/ *cacha* (*us tape*) that abounds in thickets, moras (*sutsion*) and the ground cherries (*chimbú*) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /*mazamorra*/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (*shlal*).

224 [44] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a *minga*. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they
[262] [252] are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored.
223 [411] Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. *Chamones*,

Chamones

/327 cont./
223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed *tandayaha* (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which
nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species
of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate
/328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226. Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and
streams contain sardines and *coruntas* /small river-fish/. During
Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is
strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during
the months of January and February and generally in months of
drought.

They also gather crabs.

◆

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /*el payanés*/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy
of some *parcialidades* of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these *parcialidades* that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says --
by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories

/*328 cont.*/
389 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned
regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in
Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373]sumption and above all for illumination at religious *fiestas*. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the *Revista Colombiana de Folklore*, Number 2 of 1953.

/*329*/

Mingas

476 The *minga* is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the *minga* serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The *minga* then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, *chicha*, and, in
554 nearly all the *parcialidades*, coca. The incidence of the *mingas* is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following *mingas*
241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a *minga* for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/329 cont./

476 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more
241 commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of
476 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to
461 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work
241 calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.
476 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the
241 house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to
[782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether
[273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they receive
[535] new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often
[578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with
435 15 laborers costs the following:

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25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

/330 cont./

476	1 bull	$40.00
435	1 1/2 arrobas of maize	1.50
	2 pounds of coca	3.00
	3 loads of *chicha*	6.00
	Total	$50.00

The prices cited above prevail only among the natives. Among the "whites" an arroba of maize costs $6.00, a pound of coca $3.00, the cattle $25.00 per arroba, and *chicha* has a higher value. In the expenses of the *minga* there is no mention of the cost of *aguardiente*, frijoles, arracacha, and plantains, which are usually mixed with the *mote*. It should be noted that the articles listed are produced on the same *finca*, with the exception of the coca, which has to be purchased. In San Andrés the *mingas* consist of six to ten laborers more or less, usually relatives. *Mote*, stew with plantains, manioc, arracacha, pork, *chicha*, and coca are served. No cattle are killed, and there is no dancing after the work. The costs of the *minga* are as follows:

	1 pig	$35.00
	1 trough of *chicha*	2.00
	1 arroba of maize	1.50
	1 pound of coca	1.00
	3 pounds of salt	0.60
/331/	3 pounds of frijoles	0.60
	2 arrobas of manioc	1.00
	2 bunches of plantains	2.00
	Total	$43.70

476 In Lame the *chicha* is purchased in Suin and Chinas, as is the coca. They commonly kill a pig.

In Mosoco we had the opportunity to observe a *minga* for the raising of the seed beds. There were three women, one boy, and five men. They were relatives. They had eaten at seven
461 in the morning. They worked in a group without distinction as
476 to sex or age, talking and laughing. Only the older ones, who usually chew coca, worked in silence, for talk produces

/331 cont./
461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /*arepas*/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the *minguero*. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of *chicha*; then a large platter with *mote*, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of *mote* without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of *chicha* and, following this, a large pot overflowing with *chicha* to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of *chicha* is thus abundant. After this they are given *aguardiente*. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the *mingas* are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the *mingas* of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own *finca* they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other *parcialidades*. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a *minga* in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the *mingas* are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/332 cont./

476 184 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades, we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 651 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

417 353 251 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/333 cont./
417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient,
but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic animals,
[244] cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and
Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that
want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of
the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They
utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José,
where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds
under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain
hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from
the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent
quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own working
276 capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during
a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed
for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result,
water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This
geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to
their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are
true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or
the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[177] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has
been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the
high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 252 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal land.

000 /335 cont./
423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the *municipio*, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the *cabildo*,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the *cabildo* reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the *parcialidad*, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the *cabildo* it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the *cabildo* and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the *cabildo*. Then the *cabildo* can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the *cabildo* competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
428 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the *cabildo*." This procedure is still followed in the *parcialidades* where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The *cabildo* has

/336 cont./
423 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited
623 directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms owner-
428 ship by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 When the colonization has been done by several persons,
578 usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy
one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the
small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is
highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the
slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and
42 litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by
[648] Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives.
But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with
immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership.
The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner
by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock
belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and
sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the
women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,
[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female
line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen
that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that
[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as
communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges,
the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and
they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the
property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for
the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any
livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts
[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal
number of children for native families, he replied that everyone
wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has
land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña,
and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do
not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands.
Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons
are the legitimate heirs.* If a man dies without leaving sons,
[593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to
[423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will
[425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son
is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge
of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from
them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It
is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal
shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they
marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate
heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal
428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases
[591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes
to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land
[563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some
"whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct
over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work
from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of
428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing
it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to
quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small,
he says that if they should return there is land for them to work.
423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with
the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it
belongs to all of the members of the community. They may
build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades
[342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the communal
[476] llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber
and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because
the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

Average Distribution of Agricultural Implements per Family

Parcialidad	Machetes		Shovels		Small bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
(26)	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P
Mosoco	71	2	85	3	50	2	39	1	3	–	13	–
Lame	16	2	26	3	12	1	2	–	–	–	–	–
San Andrés . . .	37	2	42	2	18	1	9	–	–	–	3	–

26. Note: T indicates the total implements of the families investigated. P indicates the average number of implements for each family.

/338 cont./

412 Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52%
422 are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San
[162] Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average
/339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three
parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this
implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those *parcialidades* they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double.
[423] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the
[311] mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded
areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San
Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

6: Bernal Villa--66 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Average Distribution of Domestic Animals per Family

Parcialidad	Bovines				Equines				Swine				Wool-bearers				Fowl Raised			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%
Mosoco	171	6	22	12,8	113	4	13	11,5	42	1	4	9,5	130	5	25	19,2	242	8	25	10,3
Lame	32	4	10	31,2	44	5	19	43,1	19	2	—	—	21	2	—	—	50	6	10	20,0
San Andrés	60	4	50	83,3	27	1	19	70,3	28	1	14	50,0	12	—	5	41,6	251	16	135	53,7
Calderas	98	1	—	—	114	2	—	—	107	2	—	—	97	1	—	—	271	4	—	—

Note: T indicates the total animals of the families investigated.

P indicates the average number of animals for each family investigated.

B indicates the number of animals for the "white" families.

% indicates the percentage of the total animals that is owned by the "whites."

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points for the translation to English./

/341/

422 23 For each native family in the three parcialidades and in their respective order, there is on the average the following animals: Bovines, six, three, and one; equines, four, six, zero; swine, one, three, one; wool-bearers, four, three, zero; fowl raised, ten, six, fifteen. In Calderas this is what is given in the table.

23 It is obvious that livestock-raising in Mosoco is an authentic native industry, with the implication of a relative technical improvement in it. Whereas, in the other three parcialidades, it is of no special importance, especially in Calderas. [563] The livestock industry in San Andrés is the exclusive patrimony of whites and mestizos.

Average Distribution of Crops per Family

	Maize				Wheat				Broad Beans				Garlic			
Parcialidad	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P		%
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	392	15	15	3,5	140	5	80	57,1	72	3	—	—
Lame	248	31	30	12,1	36	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	3	—	—	—

	Ullucos				Nasturtium				Frijoles				Potatoes			
Mosoco	187	7	—	—	136	5	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lame	25	3	—	—	25	3	—	—	27	3	—	—	138	17	70	50,7

	Coffee				Plantains (27)				Maize				Frijoles			
San Andrés	254	17	174	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	327	22	90	27,5	40	3	—	—

	Manioc				Arracacha			
San Andrés	1.849	123	1.200	64,8	183	12	40	21,8

Note: T indicates the total arrobas produced by the family investigated.

P, the average number of arrobas for each one of these families.

B, the arrobas produced by the "whites," and %, the percentage that the latter produce in relation to the totals indicated.

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

27. The figures indicate the number of plantain trees producing.

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Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

462
From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

/343 cont./

462 woman can weave the *kuetand yaha* (*mambe* pouch) for carrying
coca and *mambe* /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for
carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and
cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed
by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, espe-
cially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with
them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic
[241] activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men
[178] and women are beginning to share the work equally. This
phenomenon is, of course, recent.

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making *kuentand yaha* (wool)		yes
Making *yahas* (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes
Ceramics	yes or	yes

28. Rarely.

/344 cont./

462

Activity	Men	Women
Making the fire		yes
Clearings	yes	
Planting, weeding, and harvesting	yes	yes
Gathering		yes (29)
Trade	yes	yes
Hunting and fishing	yes	
Communal work	yes	
Mingas	yes	
Supplying firewood and water		yes
Ownership	yes	yes (30)
Carpentry	yes	
Making fireworks	yes	
Tending livestock	yes	
Barbering	yes	
Milling	yes	yes
Musical instruments	yes	
Consumption of coca	yes	yes
Consumption of alcohol	yes	yes
Consumption of tobacco	yes	yes

[857] 29. Task of women and of children under six.

30. Rarely.

/345/

427 Tenant farmers of San Andrés

In the haciendas that lie above the valley of the Pisimbalá torrent and the left bank of the Ullucos River, some 35 native families live as tenant farmers. There are five haciendas that make use of this type of servitude. Many of these families have developed and become established within the hacienda itself. Others have been driven to this condition out of a lack of land from which to derive sustenance.

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 161 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa [131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through [311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 241 466 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar- [433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not [249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the [257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight
chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which
he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document
with the owner and has not been bothered by him about
the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been
urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of
the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On
the other days of the month he works for the same owner for
daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course,
the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he receives
[452] 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and
frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor.
The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes
from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a
day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the
work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking
after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.

[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and
dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His
own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes,
with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the
hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because
he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner
to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such
calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden
him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos,
and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos.
The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/347 cont./
427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other
fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the
hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in
half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years.
Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most
of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the
owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant,
when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad,
said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from child-
hood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures
that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant
farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land
has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

/348 cont./

262 Maize is the species most intensively cultivated, the one of major consumption and the one that satisfies the most psychologically. We have already seen the case of the "hambruna" /extreme hunger/ in Mosoco, where, in spite of the harvest of other produce, it seems to be precisely because there is no [252] maize. With maize they make mote, griddlecakes /arepas/, tamales /envueltos/, and "sango" a maize soup/, in addition to eating it toasted or roasted when it is tender.

252 262 Mote is practically the raw material of the daily foods. It is obtained by boiling the maize in water and ashes until the cuticle is completely loose and then washing it in an abundance of water. This mote is put on to boil, and when it has gone through three "boilings," that is to say, the water has been changed three times, one tosses into it first dry frijoles, then plantains, manioc, arracacha, /349/ cabbages, and meat if [263] there is any, and lastly onions, cumin, and saffron. Salt, which is always preferred in grains or lumps, is put in by each individual, who takes the grain and mixes it into his own dish until he thinks that he has enough. They do not eat food highly salted. This kind of food is a "pot-au-feu," the one most widespread among the people and the one which they eat daily. The informants consider it "delicious."

The griddlecakes /arepas/ are made with dry or tender maize. With the first, they skin the maize in ashes and then they grind it not too fine; the resulting flour is mixed with boiling water and ground once more, this time very fine. With this mass the women make large, round griddlecakes, harden them on a heated piece of earthenware, and finish roasting them in the embers of the hearth. These are the griddlecakes of the religious fiestas of Calderas. When they want the griddlecakes to have "a good taste," they put in salt, onions, or coriander (in Mosoco we have seen that they put in eggs); these are griddlecakes for family consumption. To make griddlecakes from roasting ears, they shell the ear, grind the mass well, and, without any kind of condiments, they make the griddlecakes and harden and roast them in the familiar form. The frequency of

/349 cont./

252 consumption of griddlecakes is low in most of the parcialidades,
262 but in Mosoco it is almost daily. These natives take their coffee
[272] and milk with griddlecakes, which are good substitutes for bread.

The "envueltos" or cakes are made when there are roasting ears. Shelled, ground, and unsifted, the small masses extend along the husks of the same ear, removed carefully by cutting
[263] off with a knife the thicker part of the ear. No condiment of any kind is put in because the roasting ear in itself has "good flavor." The envueltos, once cooked, are eaten with sancocho /a stew/. They say that it is a "very tasty" dish. Ordinarily, when they make envueltos they kill a pig or chickens and invite relatives to eat them. The eating of envueltos is implicitly associated with the start of the maize harvest, in which the local curer plays a part.

"Sango" is based on finely ground and unsifted maize flour, which is put in the pot when the frijoles are sufficiently cooked. They make sure that the soup does not thicken too much. They also add to this dish chopped cabbage, onions, or coriander for "flavor."

Frijoles are very necessary, very tasty, and the most common food; /350/ mote without frijoles is not tasty; frijoles have flavor and the 'cacha' are the tastiest, and especially green, the (tender) little things are eaten with the shell," says an informant from Calderas.

Frijoles are eaten in sancocho. When the frijoles are cooked sufficiently, one adds plantains peeled and in pieces, arracacha peeled, washed, and cut up, manioc prepared like the arracacha, chopped onions, and saffron. Meat or lard is added if they have any. This dish is said to be "tasty." Frijoles are also eaten mixed with mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/. The beans are boiled first, and when they are thought to be sufficiently cooked the finely chopped mejicano is added and, much later, ground maize. When all this is cooked, they eat it without salt, saying that it is as tasty as the rice with milk of the "whites." They also eat mejicano with well-cooked mote and frijoles, and it is very tasty if cows' feet are added to it.

/350 cont./

252 262 244 [796] Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 262 Plantains are eaten preferably in sançocho, and their consumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 [249] /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

262 From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] [534] [342] [234] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the

262 /*351 cont.*/
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /*352*/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as *compadres*, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("*cuida*") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The *compadres*, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The *mejicano* is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the *fríjol bueno* for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat *mote*, with
263 cabbage, *fríjol bueno*, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "*sango*," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that *chicha* and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, fríjoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because
first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have
[262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity
("*hambruna*"), they eat *fríjol cacha* and its tender leaves, in the
same way as they eat *mejicano* leaves; cabbages are gathered
leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant.
When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat;
they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and
[273] drink the broth with salt. They also make *chicha*, and the old
[276] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases:
"the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the
little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew,
and they eat *mejicano*, which does not require the salt that they
try to save. Finally, they end up going to the *fincas* of the
"whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M.
and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and
say, "We are making *estancia*," that is to say, digesting and
[261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken,
plantains, and peppers gives more "*estancia*."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as *mote*, but they eat to excess the *sancocho* of potatoes and *fríjol bueno* because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. *Mejicano* makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat
[758] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to
[787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always
[262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to
[263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the
other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women
and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over
from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at
[252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron
hook, or from a wire, the pot with *mote* or frijoles and stir up
the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the
morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first
light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves;
262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: *chicha* or food.

177 /354/ In the *parcialidad* of Mosoco, which is undergoing
262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the
264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the *parcialidad* of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and *aguardiente*. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /*pinzas*/ and necklaces for the women.

439 443 438 [162] San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was established. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise, some drugs, beer, *aguardiente*, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell *chicha* and *aguardiente* exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different *parcialidades*

/355 cont./
443 of the *municipio* and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the *parcialidades* offering their
wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel
through the *parcialidades*, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring
them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the
natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago,
through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles,
laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never
lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty.
At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he
took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés
he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell
in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the
Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The *parcialidad* of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 *parcialidades* of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and
Chinas, trades with the *municipio* /356/ of Silvia, located on
the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley,
peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the
prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to
Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia
they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs,
and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of
woolen *rebozos* (*rebosos de Castilla*), showy necklaces, gold
earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for
their trousers, and shirts.

427 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
(476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors
take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast
to the riding paths of the *municipio* of Inzá. The people of

The people of
/356 cont./

643 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563
621 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/357 cont./
261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification.
When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas,
and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe
at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 [554] lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[231] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems
of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the
Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of
the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by
us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

/358 cont./

434 [121] There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were from Mosoço, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit [427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 563 [439] Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/359/

434 The statistical tables on income which we present below demonstrate to us with numbers the arguments of our guesses, since they permit us to compare the incomes of the families in the three native parcialidades and give us a clear idea of the process of acculturation which is taking place in the parcialidad of Mosoco.

/359 cont./

Family Income

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454
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Fams.	Agriculture $	%	Livestock $	%	Trade $	%	Daily Wages $	%	Crafts $	%	Freightage $	%	
1.*	871,00	17,9	760,00	15,6	2.410,00	49,6	......	......	210,00	4,3	......	....	(33)
2.	563,00	78,5	....	....	......	....	......	......	......	....	85,00	12,0	(34)
3.	182,00	31,0	105,00	17,8	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	(35)
4.	285,00	36,2	500,00	63,6	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	
5.	48,50	9,5	35,20	6,9	83,00	16,2	151,00	29,6	......	....	192,00	37,7	
6.	145,00	13,9	750,00	71,9	......	....	......	......	148,00	14,1	......	....	
7.	250,00	22,1	700,00	61,9	180,00	15,9	......	......	......	....	......	....	
8.	90,00	12,6	620,00	87,3	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	
9.	399,00	31,3	73,00	5,7	......	....	......	......	500,00	39,3	300,00	23,5	
10.	480,00	59,0	51,00	6,2	......	....	270,00	33,2	12,00	1,4	......	....	
11.	94,00	16,3	....	....	......	....	......	......	......	....	480,00	83,6	
12.	726,00	100,0	....	....	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	
13.	250,00	23,5	600,00	56,6	......	....	......	......	......	....	210,00	19,7	
14.	136,00	11,3	935,00	78,1	......	....	......	......	126,00	10,5	......	....	
15.	724,00	55,6	....	....	......	....	......	......	216,00	16,5	360,00	27,6	
16.	403,00	73,6	....	....	......	....	......	......	......	....	144,00	26,3	
17.	......	....	....	....	......	....	300,00	100,0	......	....	......	....	
18.	1.910,00	98,7	....	....	25,00	1,3	......	......	......	....	......	....	
19.	1.086,00	68,4	500,00	31,5	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	
20.	267,00	47,0	....	....	......	....	......	......	......	....	300,00	52,9	
21.	428,00	72,5	130,00	22,0	......	....	......	......	......	....	32,00	5,4	
22.	298,00	22,6	800,00	60,8	......	....	......	......	......	....	216,00	16,4	
23.	366,00	60,3	180,00	29,5	......	....	......	......	......	....	60,00	9,8	
24.	166,00	37,2	200,00	44,8	......	....	......	......	30,00	6,7	50,00	11,2	
25.*	1.672,00	16,2	2.690,00	26,7	2.702,00	26,8	......	......	300,00	29,8	......	....	
LAME													
1.*	280,00	10,3	....	....	1.352,00	49,8	......	......	......	....	1.080,00	39,8	
2.	75,00	26,7	30,00	10,7	......	....	120,00	42,8	13,50	4,8	42,00	14,9	
3.	......	....	....	....	206,00	45,1	......	......	......	....	....	....	(36)
4.*	......	....	....	....	2.732,00	100,0	......	......	......	....	......	....	
5.	132,00	22,2	40,00	6,7	......	....	270,00	45,7	......	....	......	....	(37)
6.	470,00	92,1	....	....	40,00	7,8	......	......	......	....	......	....	
7.	107,00	38,3	71,50	25,6	......	....	......	......	......	....	100,00	36,1	
8.	252,00	95,5	....	....	......	....	......	......	12,00	4,5	......	....	

Note: The peso sign ($) indicates the total monetary income, and % indicates the percentage of income from one activity in relation to the total income. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

33. The deficit was compensated for by a loan of $600.00, which is equivalent to 12.3% of the total income.

34. Deficit compensated for by $60.00 saved in 1952, or 8.4% of the income.

35. Deficit compensated for by $300.00 saved in 1952, or 51.1% of the income.

36. Deficit compensated for by $250.00 saved in 1952, or 54.8% of the income.

37. Deficit compensated for by $150.00 saved in 1952, or 25.3% of the total income.

6: Bernal Villa--90 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Fams.	Agriculture		Agriculture		Livestock		Trade		Day Wages		Crafts		
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	
1.*	3.120,00	58,7	1.460,00	27,5	500,00	9,4	......	......	......	....	225,00	4,4	
2.	48,00	54,2	....	....	......	....	......	......	40,50	45,7	......	....	
3.	132,00	70,5	....	....	......	....	55,00	29,4	......	....	......	....	
4.	22,20	28,3	....	....	......	....	56,00	71,6	......	....	......	....	
5.	389,00	62,2	....	....	......	....	45,00	7,1	191,00	30,5	......	....	
6.	152,50	61,6	....	....	......	....	95,00	38,3	......	....	......	....	
[454] 7.	87,00	26,6	....	....	......	....	240,00	73,3	......	....	......	....	
8.	195,00	42,3	200,00	43,4	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	(38)
9.	320,00	72,6	120,00	27,2	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	
10.*	2.000,00	89,2	....	....	240,00	10,7	......	......	......	....	......	....	
11.	1.455,00	53,1	680,00	24,8	680,00	24,8	......	......	......	....	......	....	
12.	170,00	100,0	....	....	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	
13.	650,00	100,0	....	....	......	....	......	......	......	....	......	....	
14.*	190,00	4,8	1.840,00	46,5	900,00	22,8	120,00	3,1	900,00	22,8	......	....	
15.*	379,00	14,4	....	....	100,00	3,8	......	......	2.143,10	81,7	......	....	

/The headings are obviously in error on this table./

38. Deficit compensated for by $65.00 saved in 1952, or 14.1% of the income.

511 In the statistical table of expenses, the first thing that we observe in the three parcialidades is the small amount of money spent under the headings "Drugs," "Medical Service," "Taxes," and "Education."

75 511 [165] [164] The protection of the health of adults and children is fundamental among the Páez. Child mortality has a high percentage, and parasitosis, diarrhea, and tuberculosis are almost endemic. But in Páez culture the care of the té eu (good curer) and the nasa jihi (sorcerer); the former protects people from illness and from the curses of the latter; the sorcerer with his magic powers can take people's lives. On the other hand, the té eu openly condemn the use of the drugs and the medical service of the "whites." [182] These two institutions still enjoy great power and basically govern almost all of the institutional life of the Páez. In Mosoco seven heads of families spent small sums of money for the purchase of drugs. /The following table and illustrations appear between p. 360 and p. 361 in the original text./

[text continues on p. 108]

6: Bernal Villa--91 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Family Expenses -- 1953

MOSOCO /See p. 94 for the note and footnotes for this table./

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Fams.	Drugs		Medical		Food		Clothing	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1.*	500,00	10,3	300,00	6,1	2.798,00	57,6	980,00	20,2
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	410,10	57,9	195,50	27,6
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	288,00	56,3	151,00	28,1
4.	6,00	0,8	... ..	..	316,40	40,3	103,00	13,1
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	345,60	67,5	108,50	20,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	690,60	66,2	176,00	16,8
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	402,40	35,6	81,90	7,2
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	276,80	38,9	137,00	19,2
9.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	558,00	43,7	223,00	17,4
10.	... ..	...	... ..	..	456,50	56,1	214,00	26,3
11.	10,00	1,7	... ..	..	151,80	26,4	88,50	15,4
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	327,60	45,1	159,70	21,9
13.	10,00	0,6	... ..	..	734,40	69,2	133,00	12,5
14.	... ..	...	... ..	..	461,60	38,5	278,00	23,2
15.	... ..	...	... ..	..	383,20	29,4	158,50	12,1
16.	... ..	...	... ..	..	195,76	35,7	113,00	20,5
17.	... ..	...	... ..	..	189,60	63,2	62,00	20,6
18.	43,00	2,2	... ..	..	426,66	22,0	168,80	8,7
19.	65,00	4,0	... ..	..	213,33	13,4	294,70	18,5
20.	... ..	...	... ..	..	238,30	42,0	82,00	14,4
21.	... ..	...	... ..	..	188,00	31,8	104,50	17,7
22.	... ..	...	... ..	..	221,20	16,8	191,00	14,5
23.	... ..	...	... ..	..	192,00	31,6	166,00	27,3
24.	6,00	1,3	... ..	..	155,00	34,7	173,50	38,6
25.*	120,00	1,1	12,00	0,1	3.566,40	35,4	2.497,70	24,8

LAME

Fams.	Drugs		Medical		Food		Clothing	
1.*	5,00	0,1	18,00	0,6	698,40	25,7	420,00	15,4
2.	0,70	0,2	... ..	..	55,20	19,6	114,00	40,6
3.	5,10	1,1	... ..	..	158,40	34,7	91,40	20,0
4.*	40,00	1,6	... ..	..	1.173,12	42,9	268,00	9,8
5.	... ..	...	... ..	..	66,00	11,1	64,00	10,8
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	93,00	18,2	61,00	11,9
7.	3,00	1,0	... ..	..	115,50	41,4	37,50	13,4
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	170,40	64,5	54,50	20,6

SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Drugs		Medical		Food		Clothing	
1.*	8,00	0,1	... ..	..	2.265,60	42,5	801,00	15,0
2.	... ..	...	... ..	..	23,25	25,1	27,00	30,5
3.	... ..	...	... ..	..	75,00	40,1	64,00	34,1
4.	... ..	...	... ..	..	29,60	37,8	46,05	58,8
5.	28,00	4,4	... ..	..	172,80	27,6	98,30	15,7
6.	... ..	...	... ..	..	68,00	27,8	81,00	32,7
7.	... ..	...	... ..	..	168,40	48,0	68,50	20,9
8.	... ..	...	... ..	..	165,60	36,0	154,00	33,4
9.	... ..	...	... ..	..	106,50	24,2	115,00	26,1
10.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	933,60	41,6	357,00	15,9
11.	15,00	0,5	... ..	..	1.444,80	52,9	372,00	13,6
12.	... ..	...	... ..	..	19,20	11,2	59,80	35,1
13.	10,00	1,5	... ..	..	115,20	17,7	44,00	6,7
14.*	103,50	2,6	5,00	0,1	1.684,80	43,3	554,60	14,2
15.*	... ..	...	... ..	..	960,00	36,6	280,50	10,6

6: Bernal Villa--92 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954SC15PaezSC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

	Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
		$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
511	1.	*1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	.....	...
563	2.	....	..	8,30	1,2	21,60	3,0	.....	...
651	3.	....	..	.....	...	21,60	3,0	.....	...
871	4.	....	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	.....	...
	5.	....	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	.....	...
	6.	....	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	.....	...
	7.	....	..	.....	...	45,60	4,0	.....	...
	8.	....	..	.....	...	50,40	7,0	.....	...
	9.	....	..	.....	...	37,00	4,4	.....	...
	10.	....	..	.....	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
	11.	....	..	.....	...	36,00	6,2	.....	...
	12.	....	..	.....	...	68,40	9,4	.....	...
	13.	....	..	.....	...	72,00	6,7	.....	...
	14.	....	..	4,00	0,3	23,00	2,3	.....	...
	15.	....	..	.....	...	68,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
	16.	....	..	.....	...	26,40	4,8	.....	...
	17.	....	..	.....	...	18,00	6,0	.....	...
	18.	....	..	.....	...	84,00	4,3	.....	...
	19.	....	..	30,00	1,8	.....	...	.....	...
	20.	....	..	.....	...	36,00	6,3	.....	...
	21.	....	..	.....	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
	22.	11,60	0,8	.....	...	100,00	7,2	.....	...
	23.	....	..	.....	...	57,60	9,5	.....	...
	24.	....	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	.....	...
	25.	*4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	.....	...

Lame

1.*	....	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	.....	...
2.	....	..	.....	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	....	..	.....	...	8,00	1,7	.....	...
4.*	....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
5.	....	..	.....	...	?	?	180,00	30,4
6.	....	..	.....	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	....	..	.....	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...

San Andres

1.*	2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	.....	...
2.	....	..	.....	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
4.	....	..	.....	...	?	?	.....	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	....	..	.....	...	36,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	....	..	.....	...	?	?	48,00	14,6
8.	....	..	.....	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	....	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	*24,20	3,3	.....	...	67,20	3,0	.....	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	.....	...
12.	....	..	.....	...	21,60	12,7	.....	...
13.	....	..	.....	...	28,80	4,4	.....	...
14.*	....	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	.....	...
15.	*13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	.....	...

6: Bernal Villa--93 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954

SC15 Paez SC15

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

511
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Fams.	Amusements $	%	Finca $	%	Improvements Savings $	%	
1.*	120,00	2,4	......	...	......	...	
2.	60,00	8,4	......	...	12,00	1,6	
3.	126,40	23,5	......	...	......	...	(1)
4.	2,00	0,3	110,00	14,0	176,80	22,5	
5.	34,00	6,6	......	...	......	...	(2)
6.	25,00	2,4	40,00	3,8	44,40	4,2	
7.	150,00	13,2	110,00	9,7	339,60	30,0	
8.	60,00	8,4	......	...	195,80	26,4	
9.	100,00	7,7	......	...	324,00	25,9	
10.	10,00	1,2	......	...	......	...	
11.	......	...	......	...	287,70	58,1	
12.	50,00	6,8	75,00	10,3	45,30	6,2	
13.	36,80	3,4	......	...	73,80	6,9	
14.	60,00	5,0	250,00	20,8	115,40	9,6	
15.	192,00	14,7	200,00	15,3	201,90	15,5	
16.	50,00	9,1	......	...	161,84	29,5	
17.	......	...	......	...	30,40	10,1	
18.	30,00	1,2	160,00	8,2	1.033,24	53,3	
19.	10,00	0,6	128,00	8,0	864,97	53,2	
20.	10,00	1,7	192,00	32,8	8,70	1,5	
21.	30,00	5,0	......	...	97,10	16,4	
22.	100,00	7,6	95,30	7,2	630,90	48,3	
23.	60,00	9,9	......	...	130,40	21,5	
24.	80,00	17,9	......	...	......	...	(3)
25.*	226,00	2,2	361,00	3,5	1.356,00	13,4	(4)

Lame

Fams.	Amusements $	%	Finca $	%	Improvements Savings $	%
1.*	......	...	375,00	13,8	1.135,90	41,8
2.	18,00	6,4	......	...	18,20	6,4
3.	30,00	6,5	......	...	163,10	35,7
4.*	......	...	710,00	25,9	540,88	19,7
5.	......	...	......	...	232,00	47,6
6.	......	...	144,00	23,3	147,90	29,8
7.	......	...	......	...	50,50	18,1
8.	26,00	9,8	......	...	13,10	4,9

San Andres

Fams.	Amusements $	%	Finca $	%	Improvements Savings $	%	
1.*	240,00	4,5	1.060,50	19,9	747,50	14,0	
2.	0,75	0,8	......	...	7,50	8,4	
3.	......	...	......	...	29,00	15,4	
4.	......	...	......	...	2,55	3,2	
5.	85,20	13,6	......	...	94,80	15,0	
6.	20,00	8,0	......	...	2,50	1,0	
7.	24,00	7,3	......	...	28,10	8,5	
8.	130,00	28,2	......	...	......	...	(5)
9.	100,00	22,7	......	...	58,60	13,3	
10.*	200,00	8,9	366,00	16,3	242,80	10,8	
11.	......	...	500,00	18,2	227,45	8,3	
12.	......	...	......	...	69,40	40,8	
13.	......	...	......	...	452,00	69,5	
14.*	100,00	2,5	292,00	7,5	503,20	15,2	(6)
15.*	10,00	0,3	360,00	13,7	983,60	37,5	

511 /The following note and footnotes appear under the preceding
563 table in the original text./

NOTE: The peso sign ($) indicates the total expenses and % indicates the percentage of expenses under one heading with relation to the total expenses. /The commas in the figures should be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

1. Deficit of 50 pesos or 8.6%.

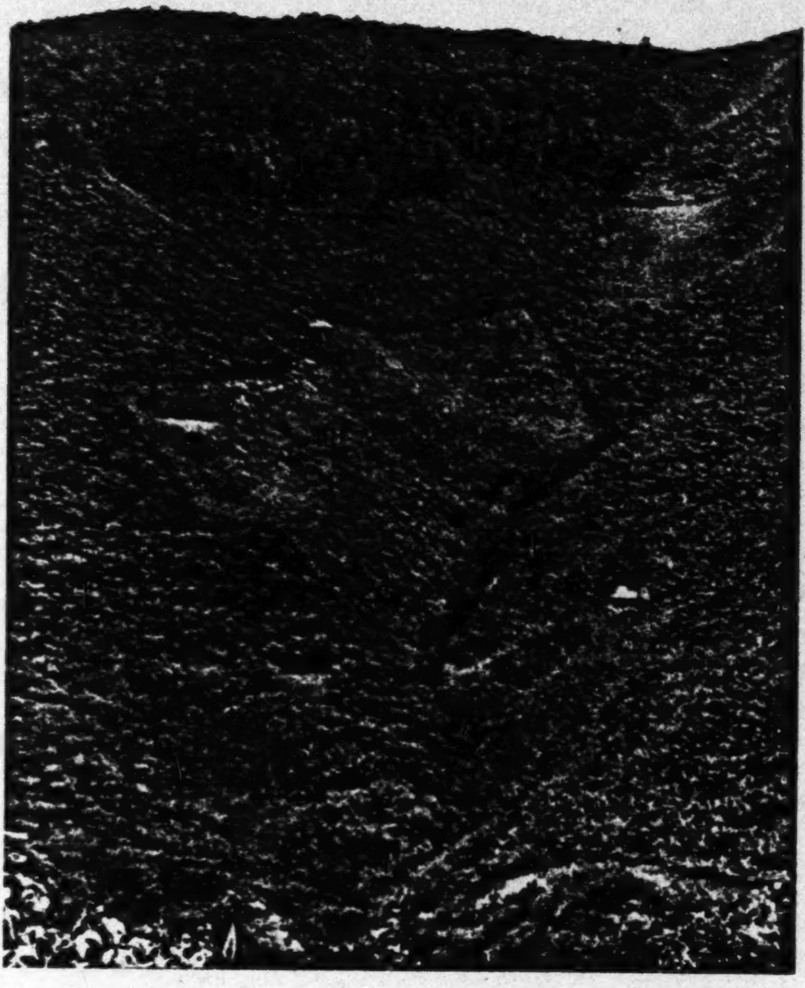
2. Deficit of 39 pesos or 4.6%.

3. Deficit of 29.50 pesos or 7.5%.

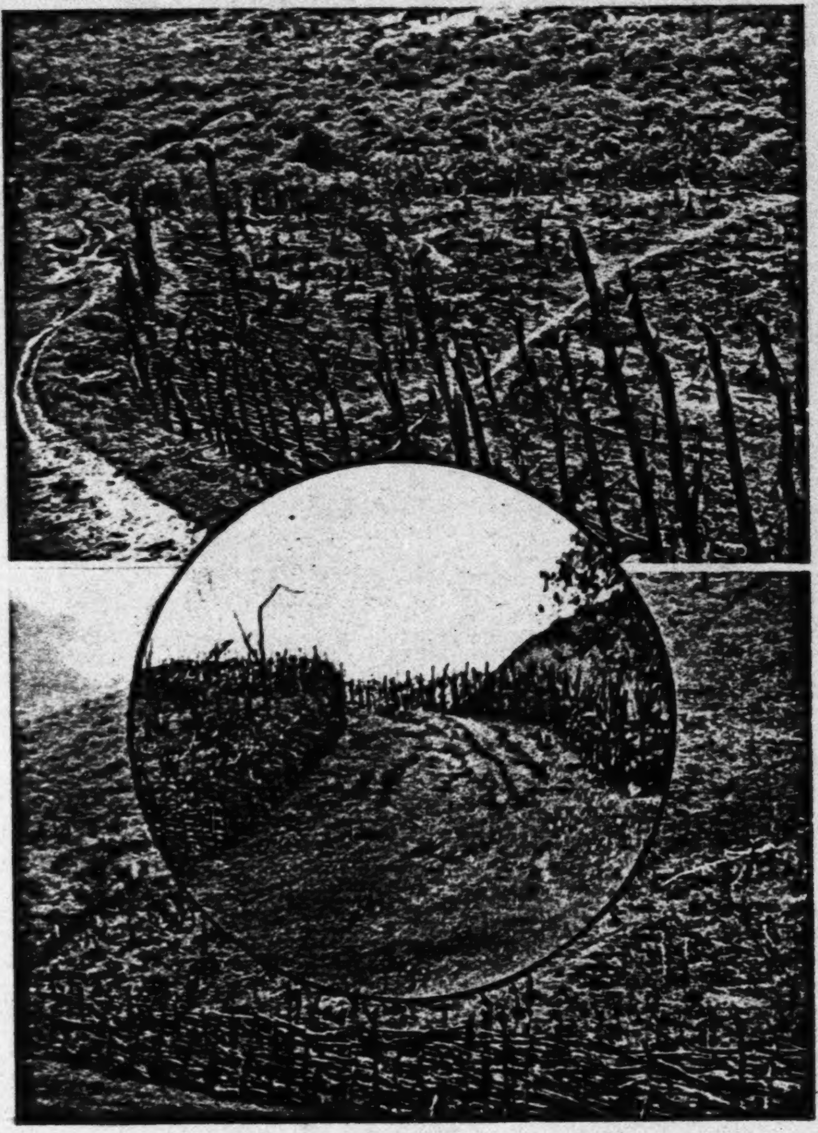
4. Transportation expenses 35 pesos or 0.3%.

5. Deficit of 7.10 pesos or 1.4%.

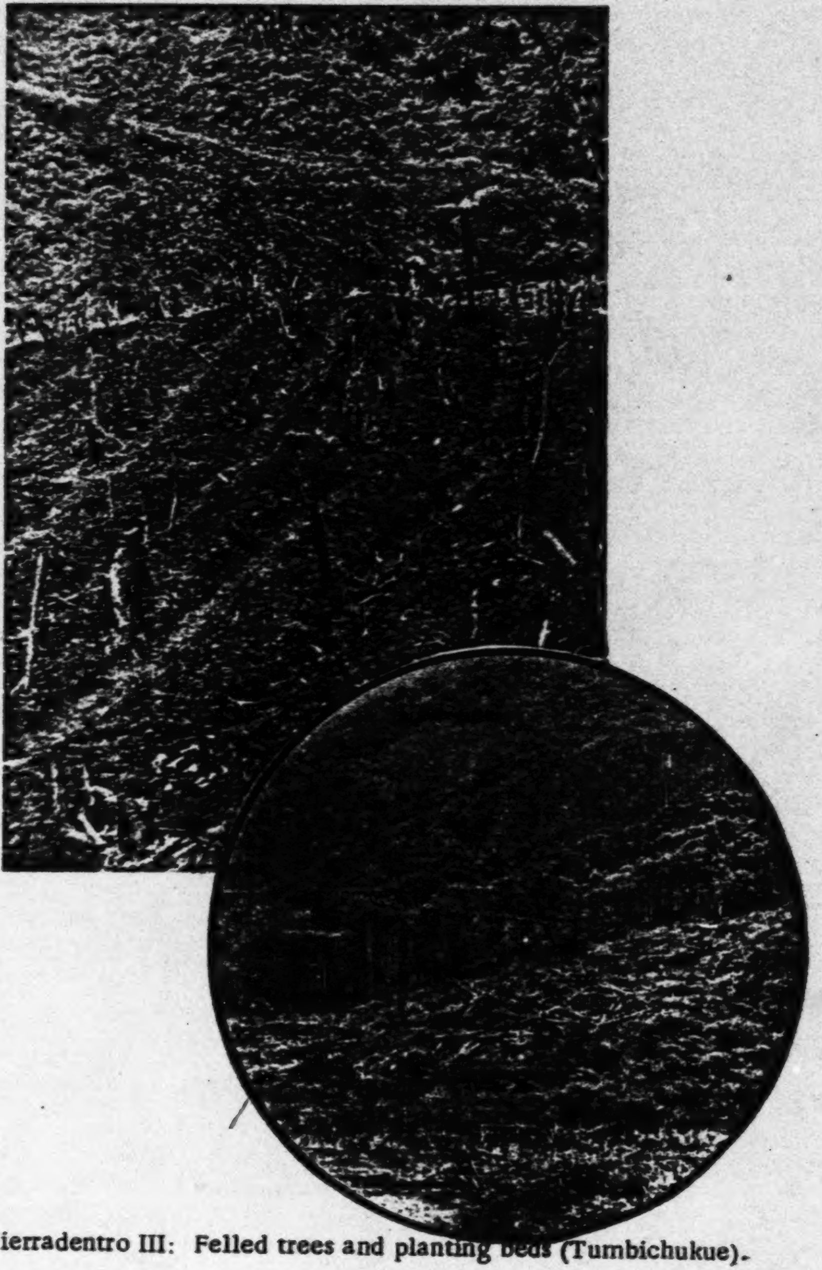
6. Transportation expenses 39.90 pesos or 1.6%.



Tierradentro I: A clearing on the slope in El Cuartel (Vitoncó).



Tierradentro II: Clearings ready for sowing, showing the finished fences and the typical manner of making them (Tumbichukue and Lame).



Tierradentro III: Felled trees and planting beds (Tumbichukue).

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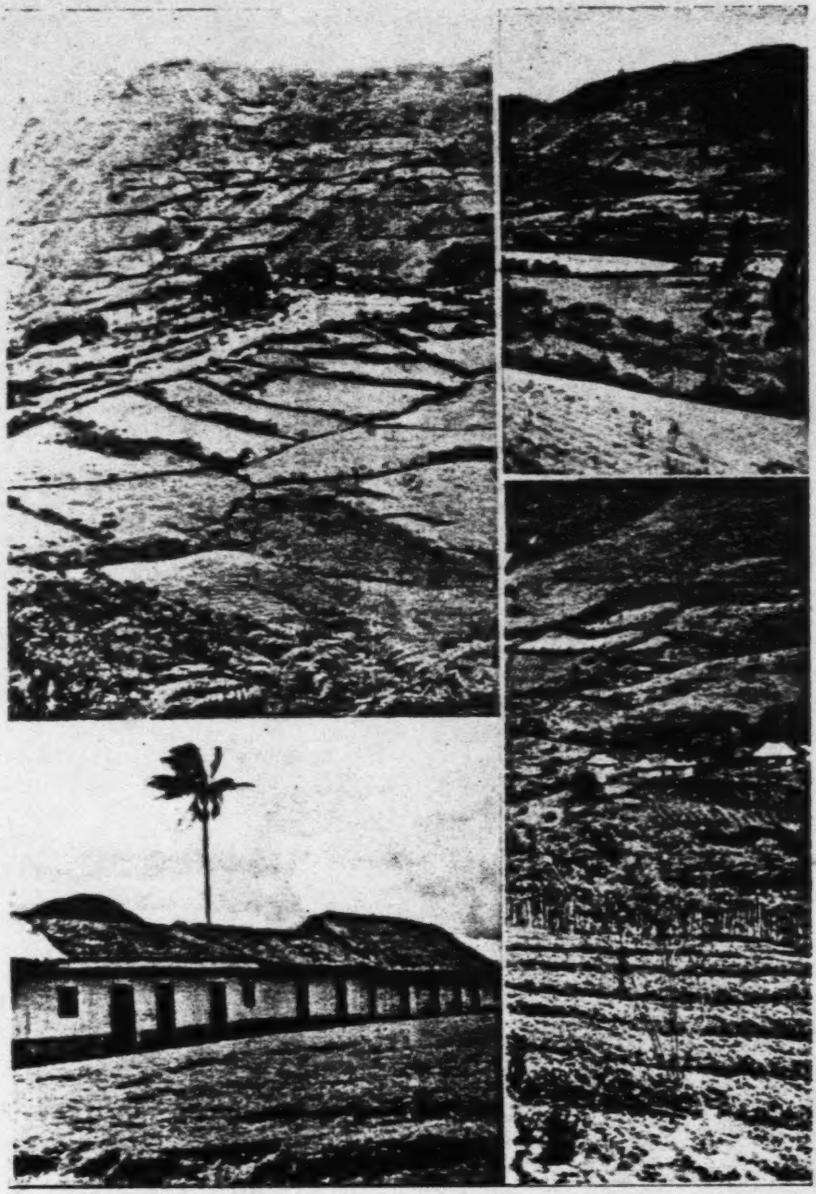

Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

Tierradentro V: View of the route from Moras (Mosoco), showing the road that leads to Silvia.

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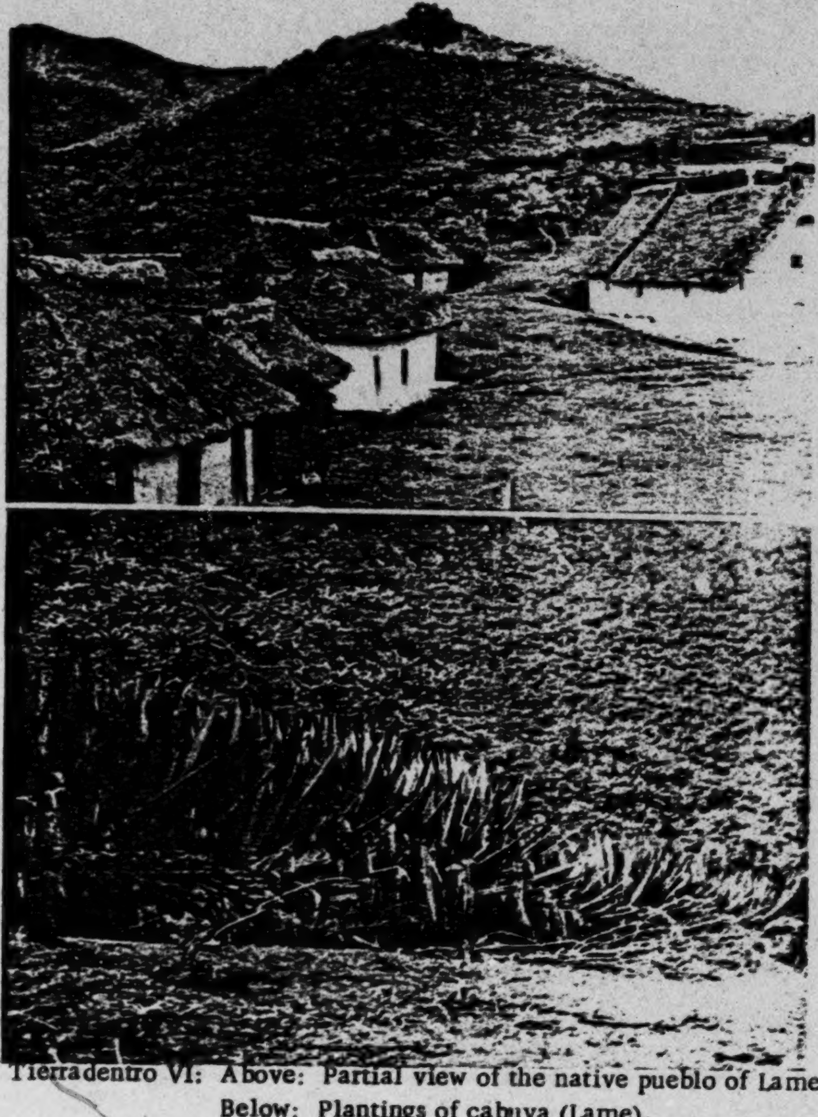
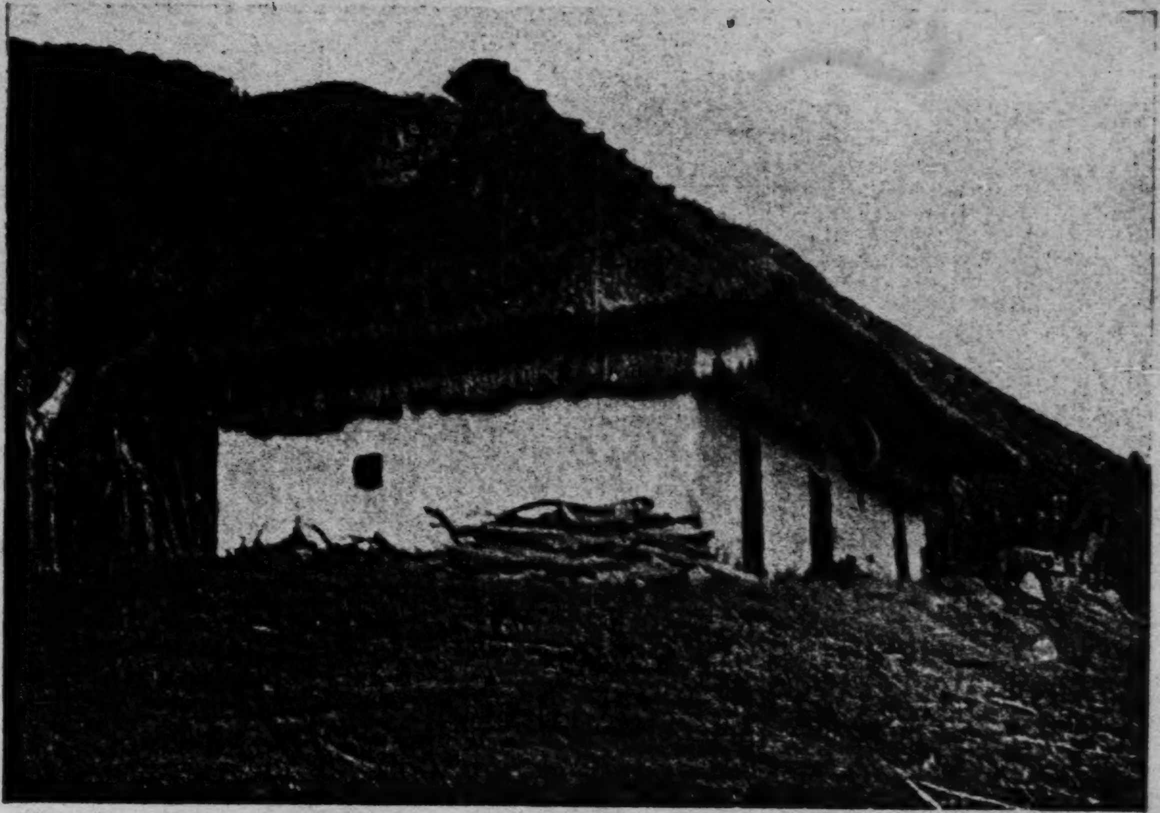


Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

Tierradentro VII: Narrow valley of the Paez River in Juntas, showing the alluvial terraces and the small vegas with plantings of coffee.



Tierradentro VIII: Dwelling in El Cuartel (Vitoncó). Note the pigs in front, the manner of storing wheat beneath the eaves of the house, and the supply of firewood.

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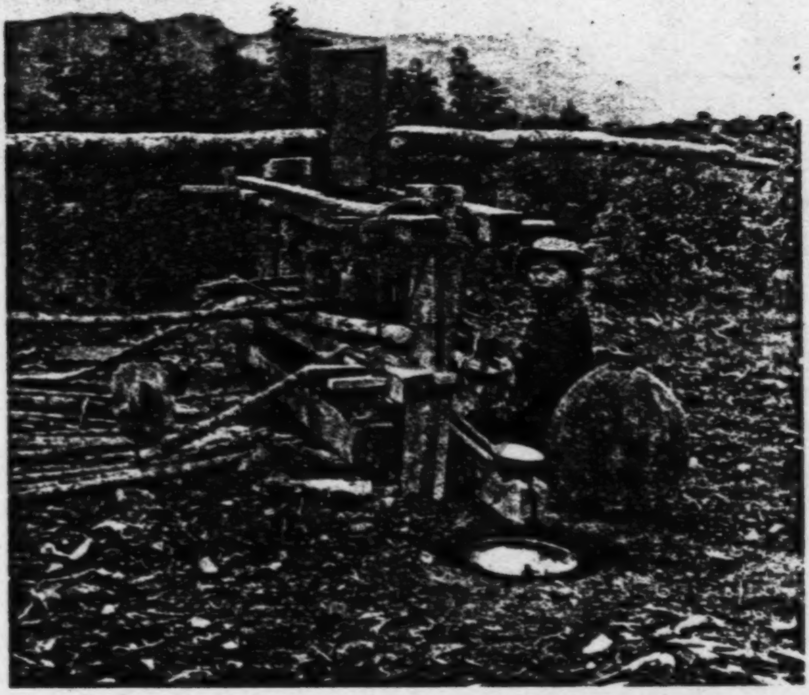

Tierradentro IX: Sugar mill of wood and the milling (Togoima).

6: Bernal Villa--104 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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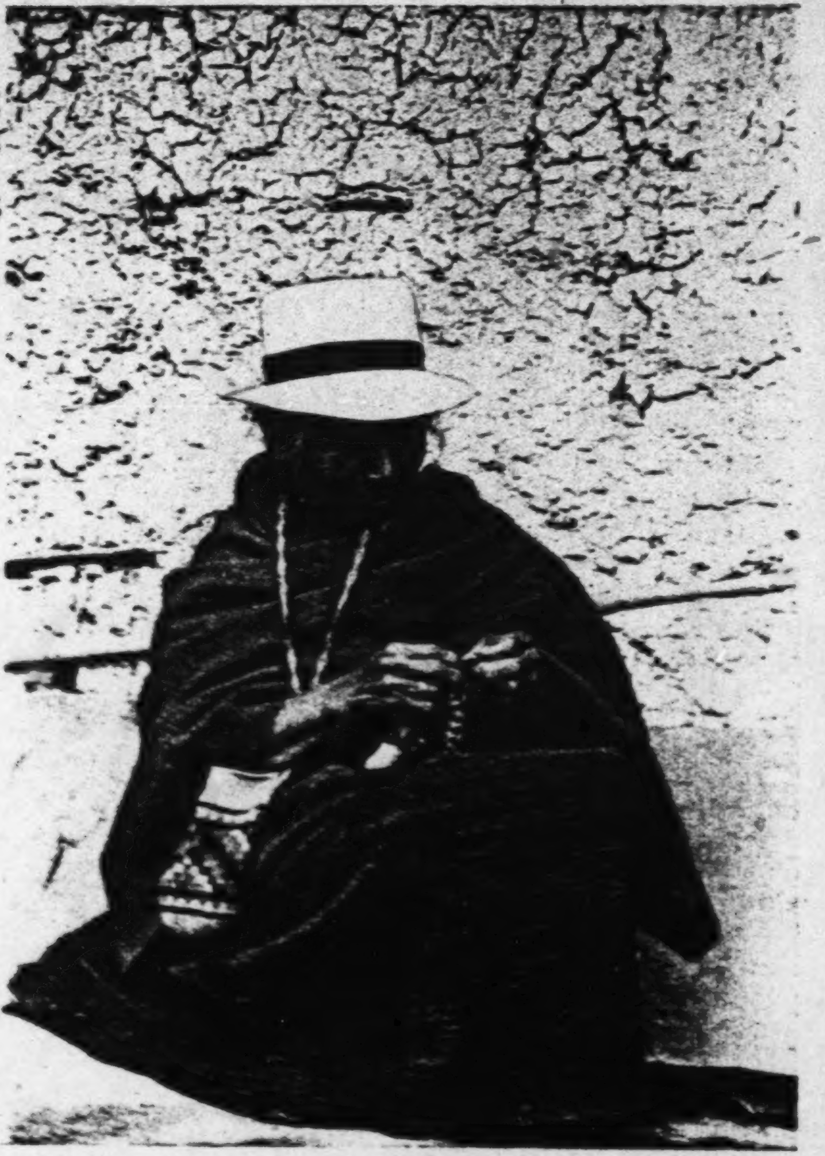

Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "*mambe*-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a *kuetand yaha* (pouch) for *mambe*). She is a *té eu* of the *parcialidad*.

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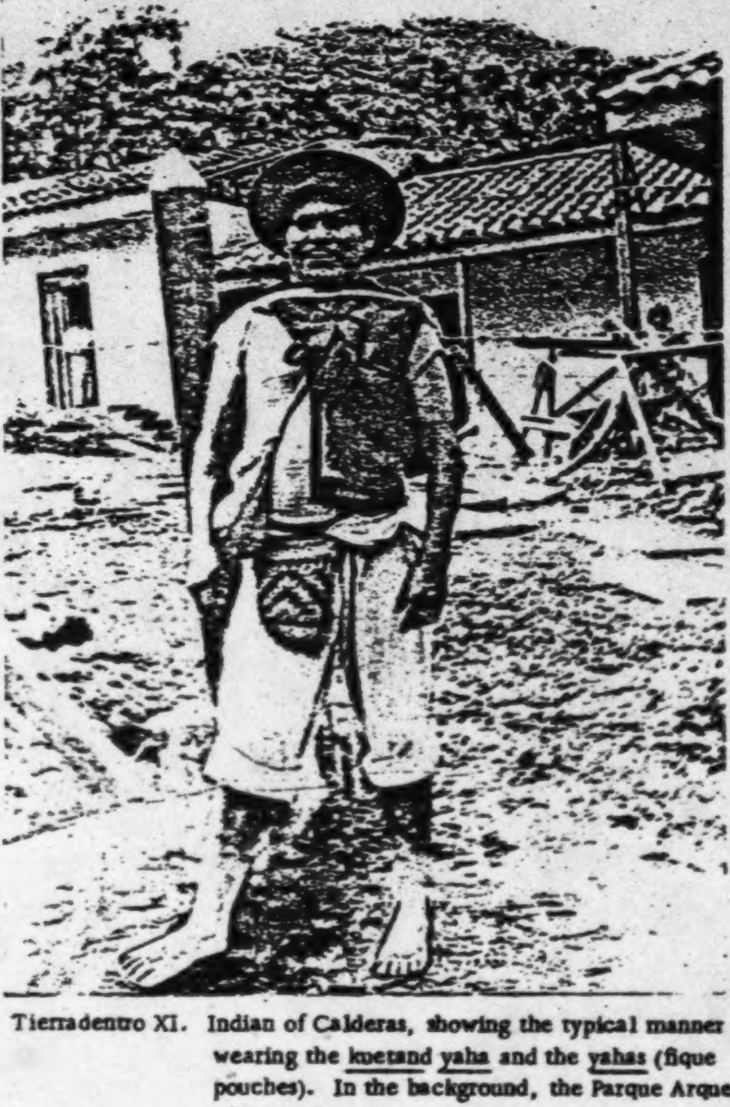

Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa--106 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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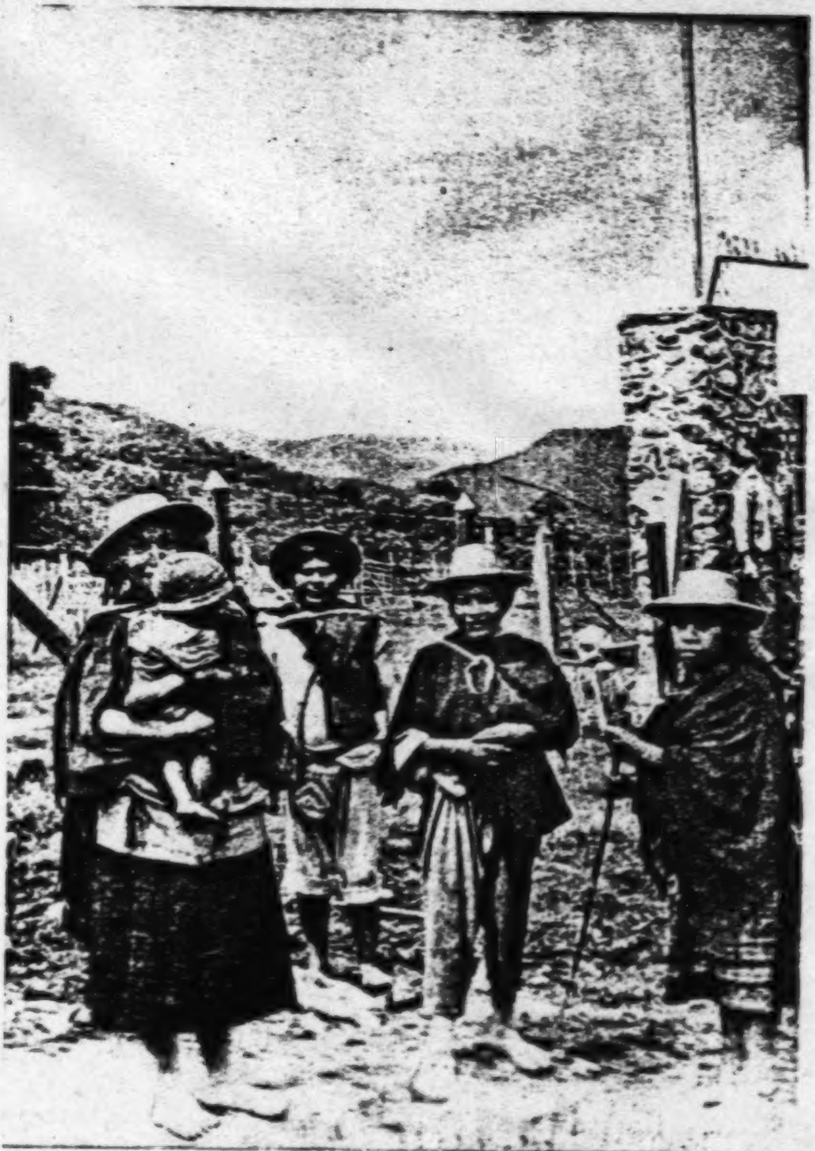

Tierradentro XII: Two married couples from Calderas in the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro. The one on the right is a very young married couple.

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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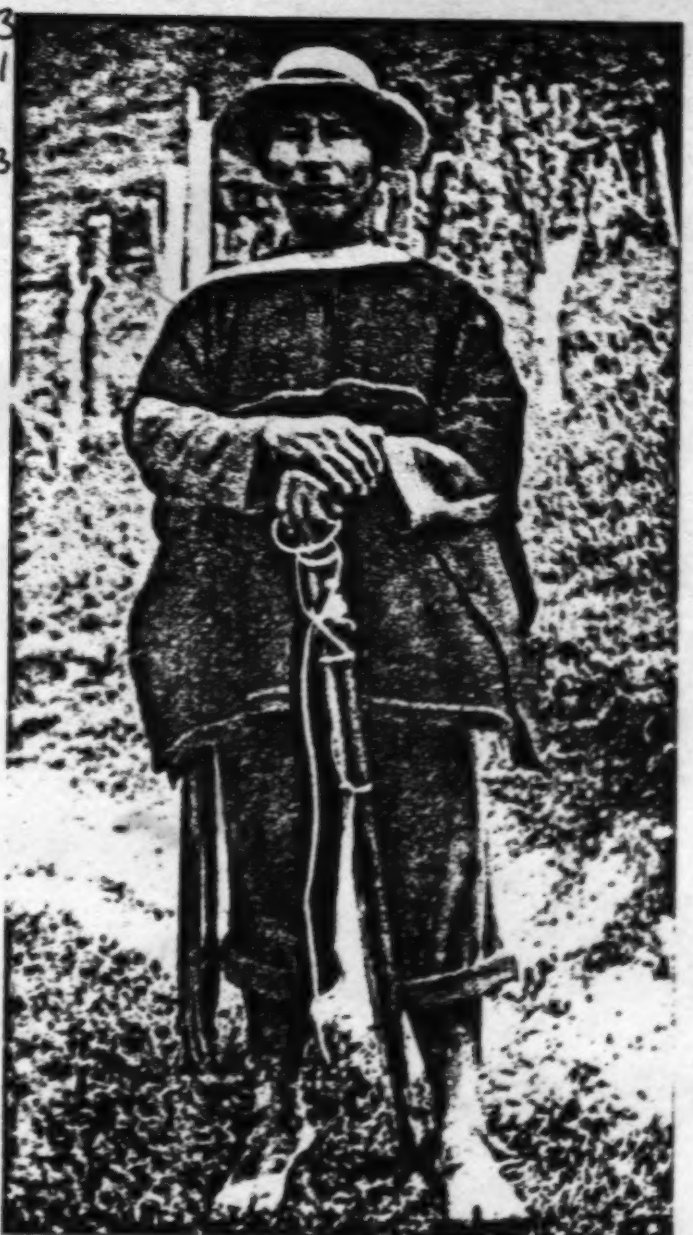

Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

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75 511 743 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the té eu of Calderas.

651 511 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 871 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of [563] [115] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools, and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the [562] [212] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

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276 The consumption of coca has disappeared almost completely
511 in Mosoco; the few data on expenses that appear in the statistical
[178] table pertain exclusively to elderly informants. /362/ In
Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, the consumption is
general and considerable sums, in comparison with the total
income, are spent to procure this article. In San Andres, the
expenses for this fancy would be higher if there were not a certain
511 number of coca trees in each garden. The monies invested
in improvements on immovables and livestock-raising are frequent
in Mosoco, while in the other two parcialidades they are practically
absent. This already implies a veritable process of capitalization,
an activity unknown to the majority of the native population
of Tierradentro.

The largest and most constant expenses were paid out, in this order, for food, clothing, amusements, and the acquisition of candles and soap.

511 As far as food in Mosoco is concerned, purchases of panela,
43 coffee, lard (fat), and salt appear for all 25 families; the purchase of maize and rice appears for 12 families. They also buy chocolate, bread, and plantains with some frequency. They do not consume manioc. For the eight families of Lame purchases of panela, salt, and coffee appear, and in one case or another the acquisition of rice, lard, manioc, plantains, and meat. In San Andrés the articles most in demand for the home are meat, panela, and salt, which appear for more than half the families investigated, but the purchase of maize, lard, potatoes, manioc, and plantains also figures with some frequency. On analyzing the statistical table of expenses for the three parcialidades, we find rather interesting coincidences that exist between the higher percentages for food and the deficiencies in agricultural production, either because of the loss of harvests or the scarcity of seed. In the former case, which refers primarily to Mosoco, we have already seen that the budgetary imbalance is compensated for by the sale of domestic animals, especially cattle, and in the latter case, which refers to the other two parcialidades, the low production is compensated for by the sale of labor.

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571 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
438 hats, underwear, *rebozos*, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /*pañolones*/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[323] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other *parcialidades* where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo.
The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that
the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while
in Mosoco the purchase of the *reboso de Castilla* /Spanish shawl/ is
quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other *parcialidades*
511 they buy *pañolones*. If we compare the figures for food and
clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in
Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to
clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages
for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter
is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we
bear in mind that in these two *parcialidades* cultivation is more
for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements,"
although various expenses have been included among them, they
refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily
higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact
that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax,
stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.[1] And in order to make a few
deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48
families studied:

[1] [See p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

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Parcialidad	Less than $100.00	From $100.00 to $500.00	From $500.00 to $1,000.00	From $1,000.00 to $2,000.00	From $2,000.00 to $5,000.00	More than $5,000.00
Mosoco	-	2	12	9	1	1
Lame	-	4	2	-	2	-
San Andrés	2	6	2	-	4	1
Totals	2	12	16	9	7	2

We thus observe that 28 of the 48 families studied, or 78.3%, have incomes of less than 1,000 pesos, with which savings [426] practically cannot exist. Even with regard to the Mosoco family [691] identified by the number 18, which in the Savings column has the amount of $1,034.24,[1] we were able to verify that this amount /364/ was strictly nominal and that the head of the family had resorted to the Caja Agraria to ask for a loan of $500.00 to make improvements on his finca, a loan which he indeed obtained; through indirect information we were able to ascertain that the amount given as savings was possibly spent on the expenses of a [563] lawsuit for land which a brother-in-law was prosecuting. The savings of the "white" families are true and also those of some few native families, but in general terms what we would calculate as savings can be assigned to the "Amusements" column; the natives live from day to day. The impulse to save does not exist or is minimal. We had the opportunity to verify that there is no prudence with regard to expenses when considerable sums are received, such as, for example, those that come from the sale of coffee. The modest savings of the natives go up in smoke

[1] [column actually reads $1033.24, see p. 93-Au.]

/364 cont./

571 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious *fiestas.*
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in
the three *parcialidades* made up the deficits in their budgets of
last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on
in some Páez *parcialidades.*

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the *parcialidades* located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the *parcialidad* of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal
centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have
defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile
to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

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39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, *El Hombre y sus obras* /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated.

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177 [137] varieties are being introduced, such as "java," for example, which, although the natives call it "wild," they nevertheless praise for its quality and recommend its cultivation.

Such are the general outlines of acculturation in some parcialidades of Tierradentro.

113

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/366 cont./

177 are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is
[756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interest-
[554] ing that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

[137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

/367 cont./

113 Hernandez de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 2, Washington, 1946, pp. 915-960.